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KAZAK SOCIAL STRUCTURE

INTRODUCTION

IN this paper I have attempted to explain the nature of certain features of Turco-Mongol social structure by an examination of some of the processes which appear to have been active in their development. The study is based on information gathered during field work among the Kazak from July to October 1936.[1] Most of the material, unless otherwise indicated, relates to the middle of the nineteenth century, to the period immediately preceding the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

The Kazak,[2] frequently referred to in the older ethnographic literature as Kirghiz, were until very recently a nomadic stock breeding people but are now rapidly adopting a sedentary life. They inhabit the steppe country between, roughly, the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains and number, according to the census of 1926, 3,959,000. Traditionally they were divided into three "hordes" or ordas: the Great Orda in the east and the Little Orda in the west, with the Middle Orda between them. They speak a Turkic language which is classed by Deny[3] with Kirghiz and Bashkir as a "western dialect." The Kazak are definitely Mongoloid in physical appearance with evidence of considerable Caucasoid admixture among the southern and western groups. Basic Kazak culture, which has been summarized by Murdock[4] is closely related in nearly every aspect with that of the Kirghiz, Turcoman, Kalmyk, and Mongols. Historically the Kazak can be first dated as a distinct people in 1465[5] although the names of some of their constituent groups may be traced much farther back.[6] They were gradually conquered by the Russians during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and now form a republic of the Soviet Union.

Although the literature on the Kazak is large the details of their social organization have remained obscure. They are usually described as divided into a large number of tribes, subtribes, gentes and "branches" whose structure, function and relation to one another are not clear. In this study I have sought to define the nature of Kazak social groupings, the process of their origin and their relation to economic life, marriage and the family, class stratification, and political administration.

[1] Field work was made possible financially by a University Fellowship from the Yale Graduate School and a grant from the Institute of Human Relations of Yale University.

[2] The present official Russian form of the name, transliterated, is Kazakh. This was adopted in order to avoid confusion with Cossack, which is also Kazak in Russian. In Kazak orthography the name is Qazaq but I have used the more familiar form.

[3] Deny, *Les Langues turques*, 202.

[4] Murdock, *Our Primitive Contemporaries*, 135-62.

[5] Muhammad Haidar, *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi*, 82.

[6] Kuftin, *Kirgiz-Kazaki*, 8.

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000 most important and oldest Turkic tribes. Along with the
142 typical features of the Turks, one can also observe in certain
144 tribes among the Kirghiz /Kazak/ a great deal of crossbreeding with the ancient inhabitants of the region (non-Turks) and with the Mongols.

First we shall examine the ethnic composition of the
101 Kirghiz-Kazak constituting the Middle and Little (Younger)
619 Hordes in our region.
614

/200/ The great mass belongs to the Middle Horde. Within it there are several tribes, of which the most important (counting from the east) are the Kirei /or Kirey, Kerei, Kerey/, Naiman, Argyn, and Kipchak. They occupy the Semipalatinsk and Akmolinsk oblasts and part of the Semirechye, Syr-Darya, and Turgai oblasts. The Kirei are in the region of the Black Irtysh river. They are made up of many clans (the Sarybas, Djadyk /Dzhadyk/, Chireuchi, Djanastaban /Dzhastaban/, Djantykey /Dzhantykei/, Iteli, Karakas, Mulku, Chubar-Aigyr /or Chubar-Aygyr/, Itengem, Chimoin, Merkiz, Kursaty, and others). The origin of the Kirei, like that of other Turkic tribes, has not been definitely established. There is no doubt that they stem from a mixture of Turkic peoples with the ancient inhabitants of the region (Usun'?). The Naiman wander along the Tarbagatai near Lake Balkhash and Ulu-Tau. Their clans include the Bura-Naiman, Semiz-Naiman, Ak-Naiman, Sary-Djumart /Sary-Dzhumart/, Kokdjarly /Kokdzharly/, Bagonaly, Kozhembet, Murun, and others. In the opinion of several ethnologists (Aristov), the Naiman are composed of the ancient Naiman clans. The Argyn tribe has been formed from an alliance of many clans: the Basentein, Atagai /Atagay/, Kandjigly /Kandzhigly/, Tobukly, Chakchan, Altai, Karpyk, Kalkaman, Aidobyl' /or Aydobyl'/ (Suyunotyk), Kozgan, Tuki, and others, and a special tribe of the Kara-Kisiak /or Kara-Kisyak/. They wander along the middle course of the Irtysh, on the Ishim, the upper course of the Tobol River, and along the Ural River. The alliance of clans existed before the appearance

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101 619 Thus in the Kirghiz-Kazak (Kaisak) people as a whole one can distinguish the following main and fundamental Turkic tribes: the Kangly and the Dulat (the river Chu) in the Great (Elder) Horde; the Kipchak, Argyn, Naiman, and Kirei in the Middle Horde, and the Alchin in the Little Horde.

/201/ 101 619 142 144 The physical type of these tribes can be considered characteristic of the Turks of our region, but it would be impossible to bring all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes in the region together under this type. It is evident from the clans and tribes listed above (among whom some are descended from Mongols or the Usun' and other ancient peoples) what a complex and colorful conglomeration the Kirghiz-Kazak are, and consequently it is unthinkable to speak of them as a whole in the ethnological and physical anthropological senses. The unity here is more political, based on the relatedness of language, customs, and beliefs, and is involuntarily created by the steppe -- that arena of life of all the nomadic peoples. The steppe has not only united all the Kirghiz-Kazak tribes, but has also had a leveling influence, giving all the varied tribes a more or less uniform character. /Illustration appears here./

128 141 In the description below of the physical type of the Kirghiz-Kazak, the statistics given for the specific tribes simply cannot be generalized for all the Kirghiz-Kazak in the region.

141 The stature of the native Turks is considered to be higher than average. The figures for the individual nationalities are as follows (from Kharuzin). For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Bukey Horde it is 1,629 millimeters, and for the Little Horde 1,669 millimeters. For the Kirghiz /Kazak/ of the Middle Horde it is 1,647 millimeters, within which the clan of the Murun has a height of 1,611 millimeters, the Naiman 1,626 millimeters, the Baydjigit 1,643 millimeters, and the Kirei 1,685 millimeters. Thus, along with heights above average (1,650-1,700 mm.) there are tribes with heights below average (1,600-1,650 mm.). The average height of the Kirghiz-Kazak is deduced to be 1,646.5 millimeters. The head measurement of the Kirghiz /Kazak/